EDITED BY THOMAS RITCHIE.

## Mayali he Daily Amion.

"LIBERTY, THE UNION, AND THE CONSTITUTION."

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where the proper construction of a great subject, involving the proper construction of the constitution, and seriously affecting the interests of a large portion of this Confederacy. The spirit which led to the Missouri compromise has departed. In that measure of concession to the peace and harmony of the Union, the north now finds nothing to commend. The motto is, "We have the power, and we will use it." The south is thus driven to take her position behind the internchments of the constitution, which I trust may prove a stronger barrier to the spirit of encroachment than any compromise which may be disregarded by the same majority which makes it.

In contrasting the powers of Congress under the articles of confederation and the object intended to be effected by it, as were and the object intended to be effecte

of compact, contained in the orimposed by the article of compact, contained in the ordinance of 1787? The following extracts therefrom embody the principle which we are about to incorporate in
the Oregon bill, and make "unalterable," to wit:

"It is hereby ordained and declared that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between
the original States and the people and States in the said
territory, (northwest of the Ohio river, I and forever remain
unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:"
"ART. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary
servined in said territory, otherwise than in the panisliment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly
cenvicted."

Such is the anti-slavery feature of this bill, sustained by the majority under the pretext of constitutional power, without reference to the principle of concession. The adaptation of the soil and climate of Oregon to slave labor, and the precedent furnished by the Missouri compromise, can now have no influence upon our course. We are forced to vote upon an isolated proposition, involving the power of the federal government over the subject of slavery. We are now about to establish a precedent to embarrass us hereafter, and aid our opponents in their wild crusade against southern institutions, carried on under the mask of philanthropy, but really instigated by the double forces of agrarianism and a lust of dominion. If the object be not to commit the government on the question of jurisdiction, Why was the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Burt] rejected by a geographical vote! Why has slavery been denounced as a dark current, rolling over the continent and withering everything sacred in its march! Why has the doubtine been boldly announced that the Californias and New Mexico must be added to the Union, with a perpetual prohibition as to slavery, to surround the south with "a cordon of free States?" If I am not deluded in the signs of the times, the future action of this government will give to these questions an emphatic and fearful response.

I am aware, sir, that gentlemen will vote for this bill.

I am aware, sir, that gentlemen will vote for this bill who neither desire nor anticipate any evil results. But it must be recollected that the silent motives and collateral considerations, which influence the action of members,

considerations, which influence the action of members, will soon be forgotten; whilst the law we are about to enact will remain forever on the statute book, to meet us like an apparition in every future trial of strength. Precedent has already, to some extent, superseded the constitution, and I am unwilling further to disfigure our legislation by adding to the number of past errors. Even in this debate the action of the old Congress, under the articles of confederation, has been unblushingly appealed to, in support of the monstrous heresies which mark the degeneracy of the times.

cles of confederation, has been unblushingly appealed to, in support of the monstrous heresies which mark the degeneracy of the times.

In opposition to the sentiments thus promulgated, I assume, and will endeavor to maintain, by reason and authority, the following positions:

1st. That new States should be admitted into this Union, without reference to the existence of slavery therein; and to require its abolition, as a condition precedent to such admission, would be a palpable usurpation.

2d. That to accomplish in advance the same end, by preventing slaveholders from removing to the Territories with their property, is in derogation of the equal rights secured to citizens of this republic, and contrary to the true intent, meaning, and spirit, of the constitution.

The first proposition is susceptible of an easy demonstration; and the second, if less palpable, is equally true, and follows as a corollary from the first.

In the investigation of these propositions, I utterly discard the idea thrown out in this debate, that the federal government possesses any original and undelegated powers. The Union is a confederation of States, in contradistinction to an association of individuals. Its powers are carved out of the States, and limited by the extent of the grants of the constitution. In the convention which framed that instrument, the States were severally represented; they voted on all its provisions as States; and it was finally ratified by the people of the States, acting in separate and sovereign capacities.

## CITY OF WASHINGTON, MONDAY NIGHT, MARCH 8, 1847.

ansesin of the question of slavery, which seems strangedly to link itself; at this time, with almost every subject of legislation. Descord regime where union and harmony should prevail. Wat has produced this deplorable state of things? Who are responsible for it? These emphasics of things? Who are responsible for it? These emphasics of the lead responsible for it? The plan of the convention declares that the power of which we have not a leader to prove the lead responsible for it? The lead of the south. It is also in a state of the lead responsible for it? The lead of the convention of a general powers would be about, as well as a naises, if a problem of the south. It is also a familiar portion a present of the lead responsible for it? The power of the lead responsible for it? The power of the lead responsible for it? The power of the lead responsible for it? The lead of the lead

promise which may be disregarded by the same marky which makes it.

It is now examine the obnoxious feature of the Orebill, and ascertain how far it accords with the princes of the constitution, and the just rights of the people of the constitution, and the just rights of the people of the intended of the constitution of nine States. The eventual establishment of any states seems to have been overlooked by the compilers of that instrument. We have seen the inconventual or all the inhabitants of said territory shall be entitled to yall and singular the rights, privileges, and advantages ated and secured to the people of the territory of the itself States northwest of the river Ohio, by the articles of syard contained in the ordinance for the government of deterritory, on the thirteenth day of July, seventeen hund and eighty-seven; and shall be subject to all the conditions, and restrictions, and prohibitions, in said articles of many and prohibitions, in said articles of the states may be admitted into this Union. Under what is the subject to all the conditions, and restrictions, and prohibitions, in said articles of the states are the inconvention of the states are the inconvention of the subject to all the conditions and restrictions, and prohibitions, in said articles of the constitution provides that "new States may be admitted into this Union." Under what is the subject to all the conditions of the prohibitions of the proposed upon the people of said territory."

That the inhabitants of said territory shall be entitled to the people of the proposed upon the proposed upon the people of the constitution provides that "new States may be admitted into this Union." Under what is the proposed upon the people of said territory."

CITY OF MASSINGTON, NODAX NIGHT, MARCH 8, 1817.

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